13

A

SERMON

Preached at *Epſom* upon the *9th* of *September*,

Being the

Day of Thankſgiving

Appointed by His MAJESTY for the

Diſcovery *and* Diſappointment

OF THE

REPUBLICAN PLOT,

And now made publick to obviate falſe Reports.

By *JOHN TURNER*, late Fellow of Chriſts Colledge in *Cambridge*.

Quem recitas meus eſt, O fidentine, libellus,
Sed malè dum recitas incipit eſſe tuus.

Benè agere & malè pati Regium eſt & Regiorum.

LONDON, Printed for *W. Kettilby*, at the *Biſhops-Head* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, 1683.

UMI

Eccl. X. 20.

Curſe not the King, no not in thy thought. For a Bird of the Air ſhall carry the Voice, and that which hath wings ſhall tell the matter.

WE are met together this day, not in a Conventicle, as the manner of ſome is, to Whine againſt the Government in a melting Tone, and ſanctifie the Breach of Law with *Friday-Faces*; to Worſhip God by Affronting his Vicegerent, and diſobey the King for Conſcience ſake, but in a Loyal and Dutiful Aſſembly, by the King's expreſs Appointment and Command, not to ſow the Seeds of Sedition, nor to reap an Harveſt of Blood, but, as becomes good Chriſtians and good Subjects, to deteſt and abominate both one and t'other.

And thanks be to God that we are met together this day, for it had like to have fared much otherwiſe with us, it wanted but a little, and God, who for our ſins is wroth with his Inheritance, had utterly forſaken his Tabernacle of *Shilo*, and the Tent which he had pitched among men, the Prieſts and the Young men would have Fallen by the Sword, the Maidens would not have been given in Marriage, and there would have wanted Widows to make Lamentation.

This

This Church of *England*, the Joy of the whole earth, where God reſides in a peculiar manner, as once between the Cherubims within the Vail of the Temple; this Church of *England* ſo Excellently placed between the two Extremes, of Popery on the one hand, and Fanaticiſm on the other; ſo Pure, ſo Wholſom, ſo Primitive in its Doctrines and in its Diſcipline, ſo juſt and wiſe; this Church that ſtands upon the Rock of Ages, and bids defiance to the Gates of Hell, that is Cemented by the Blood of Confeſſors and Martyrs, and was ſo lately purg'd by the Fire of Tribulation, to make it more beautiful and more ſtrong together, yet for the Hypocriſie of ſome, and for the open profaneneſs of others in her Communion, ſhe was now a ſecond time in danger of being loſt, and the dreadful Voice of *Samuel* once more hover'd in the gloomy Sky; *if ye ſhall ſtill do wickedly, ye ſhall be deſtroyed, both ye and your King.*

For had the King been ſpared, who, as the People ſaid of *David*, is *worth ten thouſand of us*, there might have been ſtill ſome hope remaining, that this poor Church, though once more weltring in a Sea of Bloud, might have ſurviv'd the Calamity of her Sons. But the King and the Monarchy were to fall together, the King and the Duke were both of them to die, the King and his Family were to be extinguiſh'd, and it might have been ſaid of the two Royal Brothers, as once of *Saul* and *Jonathan* his Son, *The* King and the Duke *were lovely and pleaſant in their lives, and in their deaths they were not divided, they were ſwifter than Eagles, they were Stronger than Lyons, how are the mighty Fallen, and the weapons of war periſhed. Ye Mountains of Brittain, let there be no dew, neither let the rain deſcend upon you, for there the life of* Charles *was vilely caſt away, the life of* Charles, *as though he had not been Anointed with Oyle. O let it*

not

not be told in Gath, *nor publish'd in the Streets of* Askelon, *lest the Daughters of the* Philistines *rejoyce, lest the Daughters of the Uncircumcised triumph*; lest *Papists*, and *Turks*, and *Infidels* upbraid us that these are the Effects of True Protestant Religion, the barbarous Attendants of a thorough Reformation.

Let the *Parisian* Massacre from this time forward be silent, and let the Ghosts of *Ireland* walk no more, for the Saints have out-done the Cruelties of the Wicked, and *Rome* is Merciful in comparison of *Geneva*! Have the Papists found out a *Clement* and a *Ravillac* that thought it a Pious and a Meritorious Work, to *lop the two Sparks* of the Royal House of *Bourbon*; the Third and Fourth *Henry* succceding one another? And have not our Protestants had their Court of Justice, where an hundred *Clements* and *Ravillacs* sat together to Murther a King under pretext of Law, and would have made us believe they wash'd their hands of the Guilt, at the same time when they wash'd them in his Bloud? And were not the same sort of Protestants, whose Bible is of the Translation of *Geneva*, the men of *Knoxe's* Principles, and the men after *Calvin's* own heart, were not they whetting the Weapons of Destruction, to serve the *Second Charles* as they had served the *First*, and make him the Inheritor of his Fathers Fate as well as of his Throne? And as the Fathers death, whom the Indictment called *Charles Stuart* King of *England*, was ushered in by that of a Pious and a Learned Prelate, the then Archbishop and Primate of the *English* Clergy, so here the inhumane Butchery of a *Scotch* Archbishop was, as it were, a Prologue to the intended Murther of the Son, whom in derision they were used to call the *King of Scots*; although in this indeed the Parallel does not hold, that a Civil War preceded the Martyrdom of the Father, but a Massacre more Bloody

H: 3: ye Cast of ye house of Ualois.

H: 4: ye first of ye house of Bourbon.

 was

was to follow that of the Son. For the King was not to fall ſingly by himſelf, but more like a Tartar than a Chriſtian Prince, all his Faithful Servants and Dependants were to be made a Sacrifice at his Tomb.

The Godly Treaſon was not ſatisfy'd
To kill the King, and quench its thirſty Pride,
By ſucking at the Royal Orifice,
This was too mean, too little a Device;
But as when Wines from Traiterous Bourdeaux *ſent*
Are ſtav'd, and flow thorough the gaping vent,
So the whole Kingdom would at once have bled,
And its whole Strength at one broad Wound have ſhed;
While Slaughter in her Purple Veſt array'd,
Her own fierce deeds with a wan look ſurvey'd,
And fear'd thoſe Terrours which her ſelf had made.

Theſe are they that ſeparate themſelves, ſenſual, having not the Spirit, and yet pretending to it almoſt as much as Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Good God! that men that cannot get down a Ceremony, though they would never ſo fain, ſhould be able to ſwallow Treaſon and Rebellion! That they that change colour at the ſight of a Surplice, ſhould make no bones of Garments roll'd in Blood! So that the *Prophet* might have ask'd the ſame Queſtion of every one of theſe Religious Monſters, that quarrel with Motes, and yet diſpenſe with Beams, which he ask'd with his uſual Eloquence upon another occaſion *Who is this that comes from* Edom, *with his Garments dyed from* Bozra? *Wherefore art thou red in thine Apparel, and thy Garments like him that treadeth in the Wine Fat?* When our Saviour talk'd to his Diſciples of *eating his Fleſh*, and *drinking his Blood*, and that no man could be his Diſciple, that did not eat the one, and drink the other, they underſtanding him in the literal

literal and first sense, said among one another, *This is an hard saying, who can hear it?* And the Evangelist tells us a very little after, That *from that time many of his Disciples went back, and walked no more with him.* Nay, the twelve themselves were startled at the thing, and in some doubt whether they also should forsake him or no, as appears by our Saviours question immediately subjoyned; *will ye also go away?* So grievously were they Scandalized and Offended at the very thought of *eating Flesh, and drinking Bloud.* But the religious *Canibals* of our times, make it a light matter to eat the Flesh, and pick the Bones of a Nation; they exceed in Barbarity the *Sarmatians* of old, who though they drank the Bloud of Horses, yet could not down with that of Men, this is a knack peculiar to the Sober Party, and yet their Consciences are tender all this while; their Consciences are tender, but their Bowels are hard, their Mercies are cruel, their Fore-heads as impudent and impenetrable as the Adamant it self, and they make amends for the softness of their Heads, by Necks as stiff as the *Obelisk* at *Rome*, or the *tall Monument* at the *Bridge-Foot*.

Who would ever believe that these were the very men that were wont to declaim so loudly against the Popish Murthers, that talkt of nothing but *Piedmont*, and the Fifth of *November*, and the *Marian* Days, and the *invincible Armada*, and the *Albigenses*, the Persecutions of *Hungary* and *France*, the Churches of *France*, that have been lately so perfidiously demolished, and the Ministers of *Hungary* that were condemned to the *Gallies*, and used to quiet their Children when they cryed, with the Names of *Stephen Gardiner*, and *Bloody Bonner*? but it is nevertheless true for being strange; the Papist and Fanatick, the Dissenter and the Jesuit, as bitter Enemies as they are to one another, yet they tend to a Point, and move about a Centre, they are like *Si-*

meon and *Levi* Brethren in Iniquity, *Inſtruments of Cruelty are in their Habitations, Curſed be their anger for it is fierce, and their wrath for it is cruel: O my Soul come not thou into their ſecret, unto their Aſſembly be not thou united.* This Age ſtands amazed at ſo horrid a Diſcovery, and the next would ſcarce believe that ſo much Wickedneſs was deſigned in this; were it not that the Conſpirators themſelves have all of them ſo unanimouſly confeſſed their Guilt; not the Witneſſes only, whom a ſuſpicious Malice may pretend to have accuſed others, that they might ſave themſelves; but ſome have confeſſed the Treaſon by their Flight, even before they were known to be accuſed; others have confeſſed it by practiſing thoſe barbarous Cruelties upon their own Perſons, which were deſigned to be practiſed upon ours; others have owned it at the Bar, and at the place of Execution, where men do not uſe to tell lies againſt themſelves; and he that will not believe a Criminal, when he comes to dye, acknowledging his Guilt, will remain ſtill in a ſtate of Infidelity, though he and all the Accomplices of his Crime ſhould ariſe together to vouch it from the Dead.

They have Conſpired together in acknowledging the Treaſon, as well as in committing it; and by that acknowledgment they have prevented themſelves, and we are delivered from the ſnares of Death: They have ſhown by ſo miraculous, ſo ſeaſonable a Confeſſion, juſt almoſt at the very nick of time when the diſmal Tragedy was about to be acted, that there is a Providence preſiding over Humane Affairs, that will not ſuffer Diſloyalty to proſper, and ſo much Wickedneſs to go unpuniſhed, that God will defend and proſper his Anointed, the Defender of the Faith, and the Majeſtique Image of his Perſon, and make every Loyal Subject take up the Song of *David* in his Mouth, *Verily there is a reward for the Righteous, ſurely there is a God that judgeth*

judgeth the Earth: They have verified the *English* Obſervation, that Treaſon and Murther will never fail to come out, and juſtified the Counſel of *Solomon* in my Text, *Curſe not the King, no not in thy thought; for a bird of the air ſhall carry the voice, and that which hath Wings ſhall tell the matter.*

Upon occaſion of which words, I ſhall do theſe following things.

Firſt, I will demonſtrate to you that Reſiſtance againſt the King, or the Supreme Power, is in all Caſes unlawful; *Curſe not the King, no not in thy thought.*

Secondly, I ſhall apply that general Theory to the particular Circumſtances of this Conſpiracy, which was an horrid Complication of the moſt barbarous Cruelty, the moſt perfidious Treachery, and the moſt vile Ingratitude together.

Thirdly, I ſhall reflect upon the Fatal Conſequences that would have happened, if the intended Wickedneſs had taken effect.

Fourthly, I ſhall obſerve that there is a ſecret Providence running through all things, and watching over all the Affairs of humane Life, that will not ſuffer ſuch execrable Villany to eſcape either undetected or unpuniſhed, *For a bird of the air ſhall carry the voice, and that which hath wings ſhall tell the matter.*

Fifthly, and Laſtly, You ſhall give me leave to exhort you, as my Duty is, and as yours requires of you upon this Solemn occaſion, that you would lift up your Hearts with Joy and Thankfulneſs to God, who hath done ſo great things for us, and hath wrought ſo great Deliverance for the King and his People, to whoſe eſpecial Providence and Watchful Goodneſs we can only aſcribe it, that we are not at this day in the ſame Condition with ſome of the Conſpirators themſelves, who have deſervedly ſuffered for their Crime, that we have not

been given over as a prey to our Enemies, as for our manifold Iniquities and crying Sins we have very well deſerved to be; that the Sword hath not been drunk with the blood of the ſlain, and ſurfeited with the fat of the Mighty; and that the ſame voice is not heard howling and ſhrieking in our Streets, that was of old heard in *Ramah* of *Galilee*; *The voice of lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning: Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, becauſe they are not.*

Of all theſe in their order. And Firſt, I ſay, That Reſiſtance againſt the King, or the Supream Power, is in all Caſes unlawful: *Curſe not the King, no not in thy thought*: Now the reaſon why Reſiſtance is in all Caſes, and in all its Degrees and Circumſtances abſolutely unlawful, is in ſhort this, That it ſuppoſes an Appeal of the People from the King to themſelves, and makes them Judges of their own Cauſe, which if it be allowed in one Inſtance, there is no avoiding it, but it muſt be granted in all, and by that means the Government is not only very dangerouſly aſſaulted, but utterly overthrown, and the People will obey no longer, nor no further than they pleaſe themſelves, which, what Confuſion and Diſorder it would immediately bring upon the Affairs of Mankind, how giddy, how uncertain, how tumultuous, how dangerous and troubleſome they would be to one another, you may more eaſily conceive within your ſelves, than I can find words to expreſs; the Conſequence of it would be nothing but Anarchy and Riots, and Eternal daſhing of one Man, or one Parties Humour or Intereſt againſt another.

For to place the Soveraignty, or the laſt Appeal in all the People together is perfect Non-ſenſe, for this Reaſon, becauſe all the People will never be of a Mind ſo long as the World indures, and if they were, there would be no need of Magiſtrates, or of Government: To place it in a Majority

jority of the whole Body, though it be no leſs than Treaſon in the Eye of the Law, yet I will be ſo Civil as rather to be Guilty of Miſpriſion my ſelf, than to turn Informer at this time, only I will obſerve, that ſuch a Suppoſition as this does effectually grant all that I contend for, that there is ſomewhere an abſolute and unaccountable Power, which can in no caſe be reſiſted or oppoſed; for if it may, then 'tis no longer the Soveraign Power. But ſince it hath been proved already, that the Soveraignty cannot be in the whole Body or Collection of the People taken together, if it be not in a Majority neither, then either it is in the Minor part of the People, ſo as if a Nation were to come to a Poll, the Minor part ſhall have a right of preſcribing to the Major, and the fewer Voices ſhall carry it, which is contrary to the Reaſon of things, and to the Practice of all Ages in popular Elections and Debates; and beſides, if it be granted, yet it ſuppoſes a Supream and Soveraign Power, which cannot lawfully be reſiſted or oppoſed: Or elſe, Laſtly, If the Soveraignty be neither in all the People, nor in the Major, nor in the Minor part, nor in the Prince, or the Eſtabliſh'd Government, which the Doctrine of Reſiſtance ſuppoſeth it is not, then either it is no where at all, that is, there is no ſuch thing to be met with as a Supream and unaccountable Power, or every private Man is a Prince by himſelf, accountable to none but God, as Soveraign Princes are, and his Dominions extend as far as his Perſon or his ſingle Power or Policy can reach; ſo that at this rate all Society would be immediately diſſolved: And what a bleſſed poſture of Affairs this would infallibly and unavoidably produce, I take no delight in recounting with my ſelf, but leave it to you to determine at your leiſure, if any of you have leiſure enough to conſider all the Calamities and Miſchiefs that would follow.

God

God Almighty expects nothing from us for his own ſake, but only for ours; and therefore all the Duties, as well of Revealed as Natural Religion, are ſo ordered, that they are exactly Calculated and Proportioned to the Peace and Wellfare of Mankind; he commands us to be Chaſt and Temperate in our Lives, juſt in our Dealings, affable and gentle in our Converſations, Merciful to ſuch as are in want, patient in Adverſity, humble and equal in our proſperous Condition, ready to forgive our Enemies, and to be heartily reconciled to ſuch as have injured or offended us, to be Affectionate and Dutiful to our Parents, kind to our Relations, Faithful to our Friends, Careful of our Families, Obedient to our Superiours; but the true reaſon why he expects all this from us, is not that he reaps any thing of Advantage by it, who is entirely bleſſed and happy in himſelf, but only becauſe the practice of theſe Duties is of ſo great and manifeſt importance to the good of humane Life, to make us healthful and chearful in our particular Perſons, to make us moſt acceptable to others, as well as moſt eaſie to our ſelves, to keep the World in a ſtate of Peace and Friendſhip, and make men live quietly and comfortably together.

And the ſame is true likewiſe of thoſe Duties which have a more immediate Relation to God himſelf as their Object; he commands us to love and praiſe him, to meditate and fix our thoughts upon him, to pray to him in our neceſſity, to truſt in him in our wants, to fly to him as our laſt Refuge in the time of danger, to acknowledge our perpetual obligation to him and our perpetual dependance upon him, and to humble our ſelves at the Foot-ſtool of his Mercy with Sorrow and Contrition, and with reſolutions of a better Life, at the conſideration of the Sins we have committed againſt him. The true reaſon of all which is, not that God gets any thing by our Prayers, or that he is any loſer, when we do not humble our

ſelves

ſelves before him for our Sins, but becauſe a conſtant ſenſe of the Exiſtence and Being of a God, and of his Preſence in the midſt of us, as a Witneſs and Spectator of all our thoughts and actions; wherever we be, and whatſoever we are doing, or deſigning to do; a ſerious Reflection upon that Power and Juſtice which nothing can reſiſt or bribe, that Knowledge from which nothing can poſſibly be concealed, that Goodneſs to which we are ſo infinitely obliged, and upon which we have every moment an entire dependance, is apt to keep our minds waking with a perpetual ſenſe of our Duty, to make us indeavour after Virtue, and ſtudy to conform our ſelves to the likeneſs and reſemblance of ſo excellent a Being, to deſire to pleaſe him by the practice of thoſe Duties which have the greateſt Congruity and Agreement with the Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Goodneſs of his Nature, and which Reaſon and Religion do both of them equally call for at our hands.

It is unreaſonable to praiſe and magnifie the Name of God, for the Works of his Hands, or for the Adminiſtrations of his Providence, unleſs we do alſo indeavour to imitate thoſe Perfections which we pretend ſo highly to approve; it is a contradiction to pretend to truſt in him in our wants, or flye to him for ſuccour in a dangerous time, and yet at the ſame time to be guilty of any baſe Deſign, or to uſe any unworthy or diſ-honourable means to free our ſelves from want, or to deliver our ſelves from danger; when we pray to him, we do it upon ſuppoſition of his Goodneſs, that he is ready to forgive, and eaſie to be intreated, and that he is as able as he is willing to help us; but now it would not only be unreaſonable and unjuſt, but it would alſo be impudent and impious into the bargain, to expect that God ſhould be kind and merciful to us, when we our ſelves are unmerciful to ſuch as are in want, unjuſt to thoſe with whom we Correſpond or Traffick,

Traffick, inflexible and inexorable to such as have offended; and lastly, when he injoyns us to repent us of our Sins, and to acknowledge and bewail them in his presence, to make him the Confessor of all our actions, who is a Witness to them, and will one day sit in Judgment upon them and us; the meaning of it is, that we may not be hardned in an obstinate course of sin, but that our minds by Confession and Repentance may preserve or produce in themselves a tenderness for Virtue, a shame for the past enormities of our Lives, and a steady purpose and resolution for the Future to behave our selves so as is most for our own truest Interest, and for the Peace and quiet of the World.

Nay, when in Scripture he is so severe and terrible in his Menaces against Idolatry, when he commands us so frequently and so expresly not to worship any strange God, or any Creature like our selves, or any painted Image, or carved Representation, not to fall down to Stocks and Stones, to Silver Shrines, or Wooden Crucifixes, or to the Garlick and Onions of *Egypt*, when he is so jealous of his Glory, and will by no means give his Honour to another; the meaning of all this at the very bottom, is, not that God stands in need of our Worship, that we can add any thing to him by our Praises or our Prayers; or that when we are guilty of Spiritual Fornication, by going a Whoring after strange Gods, or by placing the incommunicable Acts of Worship upon any other Object besides himself, he suffers or loses any thing by the bargain, for he cannot be more or less happy than he is, he was happy and perfect in the Sense and Contemplation of his own Blessed Nature for Millions of Ages before the World was made; and he may say to us, as he did out of the Whirlewind to his Servant *Job*, *Where wast thou when I laid the Foundations of the Earth, when the morning stars*

ſtars ſang together, and all the Sons of God ſhouted for joy? He reaps no advantage from our Worſhip, or our Sacrifice; and *if he were an hungry he would not tell us*, for he is all-ſufficient in himſelf, and *all the beaſts of the Foreſt are his, and ſo are the Cattel upon a thouſand Hills, he knows all the Fowls of the Mountains, and the wild Beaſts of the Field are in his ſight.* What is the Reaſon therefore why God is ſo jealous of his Honour? ſo zealous for the incommunicable Reſpect which is due to him from all his Rational Creatures? Why, the true and only Reaſon is, That God himſelf is the moſt Noble Object our thoughts can poſſibly entertain themſelves upon, and we ſhall always find our ſelves moſt happy in the raviſhing Contemplation of ſo bright, ſo lovely, ſo beautiful a Being; the conſideration of his Attributes will produce in us large and generous Thoughts, a perfect hatred of every thing that is Wicked, and a contempt of every thing that is Sordid and Mean; and, in a word, it will create in us, together with a Love and Admiration of him, a Breathing after him, and a deſire to be like him.

But on the contrary, the Reaſon why Idolatry and Superſtition are ſo ſeverely prohibited and forbidden, is becauſe they are apt to produce quite contrary Effects upon the Lives and Manners of Men. For the practice of Idolatry is either owing to an Opinion that God himſelf is pent up in ſome remote corner of the World, but is not always preſent in the midſt of us; that he is not intimately twiſted into our moſt ſecret thoughts, and a Witneſs to our darkeſt and moſt concealed retirements, otherwiſe we ſhould have no need to worſhip him by any Repreſentation, when he is preſent himſelf; or elſe it is founded in a ſuppoſition that God of himſelf will not at all times do for us whatever is beſt and moſt reaſonable to be done, but that he relies in a manner upon the advice of others, and

that he is an eaſie Being, governed by Court-Favourites and Minions that are about his Perſon, otherwiſe it would be very fooliſh, though they could hear and anſwer us, which they cannot do, to have recourſe to the intereſt and interceſſion either of Saints or Angels: It conſiſts on both ſides in a poor and pitiful Opinion of the Divine Nature, which muſt needs produce a proportionable Coldneſs and Indifference in us, to reſemble ſo eaſie and ſo little a Being. It eſtranges us from the Life of God, by making us ſtrangers to his Attributes and his Nature, and by fixing our Thoughts and our Worſhip upon finite, fading, and corporeal Objects, inſtead of an Immortal, Infinite, and Immaterial Being.

If we do not believe God to be always preſent wherever we are, and whatever we are doing, we ſhall have the leſs regard to ſubmit to his Will, or to obey his Laws, when he is either ſo remote that he cannot ſee us, or that he cannot come at us to puniſh us, if he do; and if we do believe him to be really preſent, what an affront is it, inſtead of being a Duty, to Worſhip any thing but himſelf in his Preſence? Nay, we muſt not only believe him to be preſent, but we muſt conſtantly attend to this Belief, we muſt frequently pauſe and meditate upon it, that it may have the more powerful influence upon our Converſations, and therefore this is the Character which the *Pſalmiſt* ſomewhere gives of a Wicked and Unregenerate man, that *he hath not God in all his thoughts*. Again, If we believe God to be ſo eaſie a Being, that he is not governed ſo much by the Equity of things, by the Reaſonableneſs of our Requeſts, or by the Conſtancy of our Obedience, or by the Sincerity of our Repentance, as by the Intereſt of Favourites, the Intreaties of thoſe whom he is pleaſed to call his Friends, and the Importunity of thoſe about him; if we are once perſwaded

ſwaded that the Prayer of one Saint, and the Supererogation of another, drawn out of the imaginary Treaſury of the Church, will ſerve inſtead of Repentance and Obedience on our parts, this muſt needs produce in the generality of Men, a coldneſs and indifference in the performance of their Duty, and give great ſtrength to the aſſaults of thoſe Temptations by which Humane Nature is continually ſurrounded.

And what hath been ſaid of Idolatry, is true in a very great proportion of Superſtition likewiſe. The Eſſence of Idolatry conſiſts in the Worſhip of a falſe Object; that of Superſtition in falſe and injurious Notions, concerning the true one, which hath been uſually done by one of theſe two ſeveral ways.

Firſt, When Men look upon him as ſuch an eaſie Being, that he will accept of little Expiations, or of certain Rites or Ceremonies, whether of their own inventing, or of his appointment, inſtead of Repentance, Obedience, and Amendment of Life; whereas God who is infinitely concerned for the happineſs of Mankind, will accept of nothing but our reaſonable Service, and of thoſe Acts of Duty and Religion, which have a manifeſt tendency to the good of Humane Life, and to the comfort of Societies, and particular Perſons. He will not *eat the Fleſh of Bulls, nor drink the Blood of Goats, but* he requires that *we ſhould offer unto God thankſgiving, and pay our vows unto the moſt high. To obey*, in his eſteem, *is better than Sacrifice, and to hearken, than the fat of Rams*; and he hath ſolemnly declared, That the *Sacrifice of the Wicked is an abomination to him, that his Soul hateth it*; and that he *cannot away* with the *Sabbaths*, and the *New Moons*, and the *Solemn Aſſemblies*, though of his own appointment, when joyned with the practice of Intemperance and Injuſtice, to the dammage and *detriment*, either of our ſelves or others.

The second sort of Superstition is, when Men look upon God under the Notion of a touchy and uncertain Being, that is angry for nothing, and pleased with as little; and therefore they worship him with ridiculous Rites, and childish Expiations, to procure his Favour, and to avert his Displeasure, and try almost as many, and as extravagant Remedies against the anger of Heaven, as if it were the Tooth-ach, or a Tertian-Ague. And the Evil of this sort of Superstition consists in this, That it destroys the Quiet and Tranquillity of Humane Life, by frighting it with causeless Fears, and imaginary Dangers, by making men perpetually solicitous, continually out of tune, and by producing in the habit of their minds, a Peevish, Fretful, Suspicious, Dissatisfied, Unsociable, and Unfriendly Temper.

To conclude this matter, Not only the practical Doctrines of the Gospel, as well as of Natural Religion, are founded in the intereſt of Mankind; but also the Articles of Belief, and the Miracles by which those Articles were confirmed.

The Articles of Belief, which I shall mention, are these two. First, the Doctrine of the *Trinity*; and Secondly, that of the *Resurrection*.

For the Doctrine of the *Trinity*, as puzling as it is, though after all the Scoffs of the *Arians* of old time, and of the *Socinian* Hereticks of late, I do not despair to make it out as clearly, as any Proposition that is never so certain; I say, as puzling as it is, and upon Supposition that it were in it self every whit as unintelligible, as it is pretended to be, yet thus much we know for certain, that God being an Infinite, and by Consequence an Incomprehensible Being, there may be some Propositions true concerning him, whose truth we that have only finite Understandings cannot possibly comprehend; for nothing certainly can understand or comprehend the whole extent

tent and latitude of the Divine Nature, but the Divinity it ſelf; and therefore in this caſe the Counſel of *Joſeph Scaliger* is excellently good,

Nè tu ſemper audax quære cauſas omnium,
Quæcunq; libris vis prophetarum edidit,
Afflata cælo, plena veraci Deo,
Operta ſacri ſupparo ſilentii,
Vel tange parcus vel pudenter præteri:
Neſcire velle quæ Magiſter maximus
Docere non vult, erudita inſcitia eſt.

But now if this Doctrine were not only unintelligible in it ſelf, but alſo of no uſe in common Life, to what purpoſe ſhould it be revealed? For certainly God does not deſign in the Scripture to puzzle and confound his Creatures to no purpoſe, but only to teach and inform them for their benefit and advantage; and therefore though the Doctrine of the *Trinity*, by reaſon that it is converſant about an Infinite Subject, cannot ſo eaſily be made out by a Finite Underſtanding; yet if we can ſhew any uſe of it, for the Benefit of Life, this is an argument to us of its truth, though it be not the Object of our Comprehenſion. And the uſe that is to be made of it in life, is this, That if we are verily perſwaded of the truth of this Doctrine, if we believe that *Jeſus Chriſt* was not only ſent by God, but that he is really and truly God himſelf; this ought certainly to poſſeſs the Hearts of all his true Diſciples, with the greater Reverence and Eſteem for his Laws: and if we believe the *Holy Ghoſt*, not only to be an Effect or Emanation of the Divine Power, which is all that the *Socinians* underſtand by it, but that he is really and truly a Divine Perſon, that he is not barely an Attribute of God; or an Effect of the Divine Power and Will, but that he is really and truly God himſelf, we ſhall then certainly give the greater heed

heed to all the good Motions, and all the Virtuous Inclinations of our minds, for fear of quenching and doing despite to the Spirit of Grace, of doing violence to the God within us, whose Temples in Scripture our Bodies are said to be.

And this by the way, among other very good Arguments that have been urged against it, is a very good Argument of the falsity of the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, which, besides that it is a contradiction to our Faculties and our Senses, besides that it is conversant about an Object, of which we may pretend to be Competent Judges, that is, about an Humane Body; I say, besides this, though we should suppose it to be true, we can assign no use of it for the bettering our Lives, or for the interest of Mankind; but on the contrary it would be much better for us, that it should be as it is, a false and absurd Doctrine, because the belief of it puts so many Indignities upon the Person of Christ, and by consequence weakens the Authority of his Gospel; as, that the Body of God should be eaten, not only by Men, but sometimes by Rats and Mice, and other Vermine; that in the Visitation of the Sick, the Priest shall carry God Almighty in his Pocket, together with his Snuff-Box, his Tooth-pick, and his Tabaco; that he is champed between the Teeth, that he descends into the Stomach and the Bowels, and from thence into the Draught, and other very reproachful and ignominious Circumstances, which it is a shame to mention; and yet this is one of the great reasons of all the *Romish* Persecutions, because we cannot perswade our selves to believe so impious and so absurd a Doctrine as this.

Quod panem aut furfur, similamve aut dona Lyæi
Nolumus esse Deos, summâq; in sede locare
Mystica quæ sacris adhibentur pocula mensis,

Quæq;

Quæq; ſalutiferas fundunt bellaria vires;
Quòd non fœtenti Divinum ſtercus ab alvo
Ejicitur ſalſumque perennat ab inguine Numen;
Quod Servatores noſtros non tradimus Orco,
Chriſtophagi *cives*, & Chriſticida *Sacerdos.*

For the Doctrine of the Reſurrection, though it cannot be denied but there are Difficulties in it, though they are not ſo great neither, but that they are capable of being explained, as I have endeavoured to do upon another occaſion; yet this is certain, that the belief of it muſt needs have a very potent influence upon the manners of the World, and that it is an equal Argument of the truth of this Doctrine, and of the goodneſs of God together, that he hath made the performance of thoſe Duties, the Conditions of a Bleſſed Immortality in the World to come, which are our trueſt Intereſt, and our higheſt Wiſdom in this.

Laſtly, For the Miracles by which the Goſpel was confirmed, they are all of them placed in ſome Event or other, that was for the advantage and benefit of the World; our Saviour went about continually doing of Good, he healed Diſeaſes, and caſt out Devils, he cleanſed the Lepers, he reſtored the Lame and Blind to the uſe of their Feet, and of their Sight, he ſtopt running Iſſues that had been of long continuance, he bid the Sick of the Palſie riſe and walk, and he raiſed the very Dead out of their Graves, to come and give Teſtimony to the truth of his Doctrine; though it might have been perhaps an equal Confirmation of it, to have removed Mountains, or to have called the Sun out of the Firmament, or to have torn the hardeſt Rocks in ſunder; but this was not ſo ſuitable to the Nature of the Doctrine it ſelf, which was all of it Calculated, as I have largely ſhewn, to promote the

Intereſt

Intereſt and Welfare of the World.

So that it being ſo undeniably clear that all the Duties, whether of Natural or of Revealed Religion, are placed in the Welfare and Happineſs of Mankind; give me leave to ſhew you that this is no Digreſſion, by applying it to the Subject we are ingaged in, concerning Paſſive Obedience, or Non-reſiſtance to the Supreme Power; and if the Miſchiefs of Reſiſtance ſhall appear to be greater, upon a juſt and impartial Survey of the whole Matter, than thoſe of Arbitrary Power, and in any other caſe there is no need of Reſiſtance, then it follows plainly, that Reſiſtance is in all Caſes unlawful. Wherefore to make ſhort work of the matter, If any Man will ſhew me, or will ſo much as dare to ſhew his Face, and look as if he would pretend to ſhew me, that ever a quarter of ſo much Blood was ſpilt, ſo many Properties invaded, ſo many Eſtates confiſcate, by the Arbitrary Power and Humour of any Lawful Prince, as in the memory of many that are here preſent, in the laſt Civil War, then I will be content to laugh for company with *Julian the Apoſtate*, and ſcoff at Paſſive Obedience, as much as he hath done.

Caiaphas being High Prieſt uttered a Prophetick ſaying, as it ſeems in virtue of his Office, That *it was expedient that one man ſhould dye for the People.* For ſo St. *John* tells us, *Joh.* XI. from 49*th* to the 51*ſt*. *Caiaphas being the High-Prieſt that year, ſaid unto them, Ye know nothing at all, nor conſider that it is expedient for us, that one man ſhould dye for the People, and that the whole Nation periſh not. And this ſpake he not of himſelf, but being High-Prieſt that year he propheſied that* Jeſus *ſhould dye for that nation.* Which words though in their Prophetick meaning, they did refer to the Expiatory Sacrifice of the Bleſſed *Jeſus* upon the Croſs for our Sins; yet it is plain that the reaſon of them is grounded upon this Maxim,

That

that the Intereſt of a Nation is to be preferred before the Intereſt or Wellfare of one man. *It is expedient for us that one Man ſhould dye for the People, and that the whole nation periſh not.* So that we have here a ſure word of Prophecy, that is the Teſtimony of God himſelf, that a greater Intereſt of Mankind is to be preferred before a leſſer; for what is here affirmed of one Man, with relation to the whole People of the *Jews*, the ſame holds in its proportion, and in the Reaſon of it of any leſſer number, with reference to a greater. From whence it follows plainly, though I am by no means a Friend to Arbitrary Government, and though, God be thanked, under ſo Merciful and Juſt a Prince, whoſe Goodneſs is the only thing that is exceſſive in him, we have no manner of occaſion to defend it; I ſay, from hence it follows plainly, that it is unlawful, becauſe a few Men ſuffer in their Fortunes or their Lives, by the Cruelty and Injuſtice of an Arbitrary Power, for the People to take up Arms, to protect themſelves againſt it; becauſe the Cruelties and Deſolations of War are incomparably greater than thoſe of an unjuſt or an unmerciful Prince: And therefore, if God Almighty may be allowed to be a more competent Judge in the Caſe, than the Author of *Julian the Apoſtate*, it is much better for the People to be quiet.

I know, the barbarous Perſecutions of the Primitive Chriſtians will be urged in this Caſe, they being ſo numerous as they were, ſo cruelly perſecuted, ſo barbarouſly tormented, and for ſo good a Cauſe, meerly for Believing and Embracing that Doctrine which taught nothing but what was for the good of the Perſecutors themſelves; and becauſe the juſt and full ſtating of this matter, is a thing of great importance to the true deciding of the Queſtion under Debate,

Therefore, I ſhall conſider in the Firſt Place, the matter of Fact; and,

Secondly, The Behaviour of the Chriſtians under it: and,

Thirdly, The Reaſon upon which that Behaviour was founded.

Firſt, For the Matter of Fact, it is unqueſtionably certain, That the Perſecution upon the Chriſtians, for many Ages, was very heavy and cruel, which our Saviour foreſaw before he left the World, and therefore took care to arm them by his Doctrine againſt it, bidding them not fear thoſe that could kill the Body, and pronouncing a Bleſſing upon all thoſe that ſuffered Perſecution for Righteouſneſs ſake: And *Pliny* himſelf, who was *Proconſul* of *Bithynia*, in the Reign of *Trajan*, confeſſes, in a Letter to his Maſter upon that occaſion, which is ſtill extant, that he was weary of tormenting them; but yet after all, I love to give the Devil his due: and becauſe I would not ſo much as imply or inſinuate any thing meerly to defend a Cauſe which is not true, therefore I ſhall preſume to ſay, That the Perſecution of the Primitive Chriſtians was neither ſo great, nor ſo unjuſt, as it is commonly repreſented. And Firſt, I ſay, it was not ſo great, and I give theſe Reaſons for my Opinion:

Firſt, That the Writers of thoſe times, who have given us the accounts we have of thoſe Perſecutions, have certainly exaggerated and aggravated the matter beyond the truth of things; and this among others was the peculiar Fault of *Gregory Nazianzen*, with Relation to *Julian the Apoſtate*, rather to ſhew his Wit, and to expoſe a Paſſionate and Ungovernable mind, than that *Julian* deſerved ſuch uſage at his hands, who, bating that he was no Chriſtian, was otherwiſe as Wiſe and Virtuous, and in all points as Gallant and as excellent a Prince as ever wielded Scepter, or ſat upon a Throne. Another

Another thing is, That the *Romans* at the first were so little acquainted with the Christians, that they frequently called them by the name of *Jews*, so saith *Suetonius*, *Judæos impulsore Chresto tumultuantes*; where by *Judæi*, or the *Jews*, it is manifest the Followers of *Christ* were understood, so that the *Christians* were lookt upon only as a Sect or Faction among the *Jews*, of which *Christ* was the head. Nay, so little were the *Romans* acquainted with the Doctrine of *Christ*, that they did not so much as know his Name; for in this very Citation they call him *Chrestus*, which is as much as to say, *the Good*, instead of *Christus*, which is as much as *the Anointed*, and answers to the *Hebrew Mashiach*, or *the Messias*; and so little did they understand the Religion of the *Jews*, that it was commonly believed among them, that the *Jews* worshipped an Asses Head, and that *Pompey* found nothing else when he presumed to enter into the Holy of Holies; and yet why they should persecute the *Jews* for this, any more than they did the *Egyptians* for the Worship of the *Ibis* and the *Crocodile*, and such like Monsters, I do not understand; and it is certain that the *Egyptians* did Worship these Creatures, in *Domitians* time, if we will believe *Juvenal*, who wrote in it; for so he tells us,

In Vit. Claudii.

See my Lord of Chester *in his Book upon the Creed, upon the Article,* And in Jesus Christ,

——*Nescis Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens*
Ægyptus Portenta colit? Crocodilon adorat
Pars hæc, illa colit saturam serpentibus Ibin.

But the true Reason why the *Jews* were Persecuted, was not because of their Religion, but because they were looked upon as a Rebellious People, as indeed they were; and so are their Brother *Sabbatarians* now a-days; and the Christians being lookt upon only as a Sect or Faction a-

mong the *Jews*, they were accounted as Enemies to the Empire, and all that ſided with them, or eſpouſed the Cauſe and Intereſt of Chriſtianity, were looked upon as taking part with their Enemies: Nay, the *Jews* themſelves repreſented the *Chriſtians* as Enemies to *Cæſar*; and therefore St. *Peter* adviſes them to remove this Scandal, and let the World ſee how much the *Chriſtians* had been miſrepreſented, by Patience and Obedience. *Submit your ſelves to every ordinance of man, for the Lords ſake, whether it be to the King as Supreme, or unto Governours, as unto them that are ſent by him, for the puniſhment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well: For ſo is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to ſilence the ignorance of fooliſh men.* So that it is plain upon the whole matter, that the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* were not at firſt diſtinguiſhed from one another by the *Romans*; that the *Chriſtians* were perſecuted under the notion of *Jews*, and that the *Jews* were oppreſt as Enemies to the State, not upon a Religious but a Political account: Nay, they were ſo far from being prohibited the exerciſe of their Religion, that in *Domitian's* time there were places appointed for their Publick Worſhip, as is evident by this paſſage of *Juvenal*;

Hic, ubi Nocturnæ Numa *conſtituebat amicæ,*
Nunc ſacri fontis nemus & delubra locantur
Judæis. Quorum Cophinus fœnumq; ſupellex.

But yet at this very time they were oppreſſed and kept under by the *Romans* to that degree, that all the Nation were in a manner Beggars; for ſo it follows in the very next words of that Poet,

Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere Juſſa eſt
Arbor & ejectis mendicat ſylva camœnis.

And

And in another place,

Arcanam Judæa tremens mendicat in aurem,

And in another,

Ede ubi consistas, in qua te quæro proseuchâ?

They were Vagabonds and Straglers all over the Empire, and got their living in a great measure by playing the Gypsies, and by telling of Fortunes; from whence the word *Chaldæus*, which denotes any Inhabitant of *Palestine* or *Assyria*, is used by the *Roman* Authors, for a Cunning-man, or a Fortune-Teller; and the Oracle uses χαλδαῖοι and ἑβρεῖοι for the same sort of Men,

Μῦνοι χαλδαῖοι σοφίην λάχον ἠδ' ἀρ' ἑβρεῖοι.
Αὐτογένεθλον ἄνακτα σεβαζόμενοι θεὸν ἀγνῶς.

Nay, after the reception of Christianity in it, they were still looked upon as dangerous to the Empire, as appears by several Laws against them, still extant in the *Theodosian Code*, under the Title *de Judæis, Cælicolis, & Samaritanis*; and besides that they were a stubborn and rebellious People, they were looked upon as a very vicious People likewise, as appears by a passage of *Martial*, who at once lays Perjury, and another small fault of *Salamanca*, to the charge of a *Jew*:

Pædicas puerum, verpe poeta, meum:
Ecce, negas, juraſq; mihi per templa Tonantis;
Non credo, jura, verpe, per Anchialum.

Nay, they were under so great Hatred and Detestation all over the *Roman* Empire, that to conceal themselves they

they uſed ſeveral tricks to repair the Defects that Circumciſion had made: And as from their being Circumciſed they were called *Verpi*; ſo from this new Device, which ſeveral Laws were enacted to prohibit, they were called *recutiti*; and ſo *Martial* uſes *recutita colla boum*, for the Necks of Oxen that had been skinned over again, after they had been galled by the Yoke; and St. *Paul* alludes to this Cuſtom, in the *7th* Chapter of the Firſt to the *Corinthians*, in theſe words: *Is any man called being circumciſed? let him not become uncircumciſed.*

To conclude this matter, if we conſider the famous Teſtimony of *Tertullian*, which is uſually produced to juſtifie the Meekneſs and Patience of the Primitive Chriſtians, where he tells the *Roman* Emperours, *omnia veſtra implevimus*, That the Court and Camp, the Cities, Towns, and Villages, the Markets and Exchanges, and Courts of Judicature, were all of them full of Chriſtians; if we reflect upon that paſſage in the Life of *Jovian*, where when he refuſed to be the Emperour of *Pagans*, the *Roman* Army, after the Death of *Julian*, all of them unanimouſly declared themſelves to be Chriſtians; if we ſurvey the Vaults and Places under Ground, that are at this day to be ſeen at *Rome*, the deſcription of which was publiſhed, not long ago, by the Writers of the *Roma Subterranea*, where the Chriſtians buried their Dead, and where, it is certain, they were uſed to Aſſemble; theſe places could neither be built without publick notice, neither was it poſſible for the Chriſtians to meet together in them ſo privately, as not to be diſcerned. All which are very ſtrong Arguments that Chriſtianity, though it were oppreſt at ſome times, yet it had its lucid intervals, and was connived at at others; and that at the ſame time when it was Perſecuted and Oppreſt, yet there were many that lived quietly in the Profeſſion of it, and enjoyed places of Honour

v. Rom. ſubterr. L. 1. c. 2. ſ. 17. & in Monumento Sepulchrali Alex. Martyris, in Cœmeterio Calliſti.

and

and Profit into the Bargain; but yet I do not deny that at ſome times eſpecially the Perſecution was very Bloody, and that the Patience and Courage of the Chriſtians ſeemed to vye for Maſtery with the Barbarity and Fierceneſs of their Tormentors, inſomuch that the Governours of the Church themſelves were forced to make Laws on purpoſe to reſtrain the too forward Zeal of ſuch as were Ambitious and Covetous of being *Martyrs*.

But in the Second place, as the *Roman* Perſecutions were not altogether ſo great, ſo neither were they altogether ſo unreaſonable or unjuſt, as they have been uſually but falſly repreſented. I do not mean that any Power on Earth hath a right of Perſecuting the true Religion, and a Religion that is ſo plainly founded in the Intereſt of Mankind; but the thing was this:

The People that profeſſed Chriſtianity increaſed ſo faſt, and withdrew themſelves in ſo great Numbers from the publick Aſſemblies, into private Meetings by themſelves, that this was looked upon, as it deſerved, by the *Roman* Government, with a very ſuſpicious Eye, as a matter of very dangerous Conſequence to the *Imperial* Eagles, whoſe Wings were like to be clipt by the prevailing Intereſt of a growing Party, who withdrew themſelves from the Publick into Corners, and what they did there, could not certainly be known by any but themſelves: and though they made never ſo large profeſſions of Patience and Humility, and of their embracing the Doctrine of Non-reſiſtance; yet this was no ſecurity to the *Roman* Emperours, if ever they ſhould be ſtrong enough to ſet up for themſelves. For we may talk what we pleaſe; and though the Doctrine of Non-reſiſtance be a very wholſome and a very reaſonable Doctrine, yet when a Party gets Power into their hands, it is hardly to be ſuppoſed but they will certainly uſe it to the endangering the

Rights

Rights of Princes, and the Peace of the State.

If you ask, why the *Roman* Emperours did not rather turn Christians in this Case, that so they might secure this growing Party to themselves? To this it is to be answered, That besides the Prejudices which they had imbibed from their Education in the *Pagan* Superstition, it was at first against the Interest of the State to do it, because the *Pagan* Party was more numerous; so that in probability by declaring for Christianity, they must have lost their Empire, and their lives together; but afterwards when Christianity got to such an head, that the torrent was no longer to be resisted or stem'd; then *Constantine*, rather out of Reason of State, than for the sake of the Fabulous Apparition of the Cross, found himself obliged to turn a Christian.

Another very great inconvenience that always goes along with any Party that separates from the Government, is this, That though the Principles of a Party be never so peaceable, yet this is certain, they love themselves better than those that are of another Perswasion, and they have a kindness for any man that sides with them, and takes their part, and therefore they are commonly made use of by Discontented and Ambitious Men, to work their Designs upon the State, under Religious Pretences, which bad men do easily make, and weak men do as easily embrace, when there is an appearance of strength, that they are like to go through with their business. From whence it follows plainly, that all Separation from the publick Worship, is absolutely unlawful, unless in such Cases where the Government imposes such terms of Communion, as are inconsistent with the Honour of God, and the Happiness of Men, which I have shewn already to be the Case of Idolatry; and by consequence, the Primitive Christians are excused, though the Dissenters of our times are not,

and

and therefore it is more juſt to make and execute laws againſt them, than it was againſt the Primitive Chriſtians of old; and we may take it for granted, for it is certainly true, that the Separation from the Church of *England* was the true cauſe of that late horrid and lamentable Plot, with which the Government was in ſo great danger of being overturned; for the Conſpirators would never have dared to lay ſo deteſtable and wicked a Deſign, had they not known there was a numerous Party that would have ſtood by them when they had done; and though I am not ſo fooliſhly uncharitable to believe, but that moſt of the Diſſenters knew nothing of the Deſign, yet it is certain, that had it taken Effect, they would have ſided with the Conſpirators againſt the Laws, the Monarchy, and the Church of *England*, by which they think themſelves to be Oppreſt, and this without queſtion was the great incouragement to the Conſpirators, as well to enter upon the Deſign at firſt, as to proceed ſo far in it as they did; and I am really of Opinion we ſhall never be free from a Plot in ſome proportion; if not againſt the Life of the King, yet againſt the Peace and Honour of his Government, ſo long as there is one Conventicle in *England* remaining.

Another thing, which though it cannot make the Perſecution of good men, and of a good Religion Lawful, yet it may in part excuſe, and juſtify the *Roman* Emperours for what they did, is, That the Chriſtians were repreſented to them as a ſort of Lewd, Vicious, and Debauch'd People, that in their Aſſemblies they practiſed a promiſcuous Luſt, and polluted themſelves with inceſtuous Copulations, which though it were moſt ſcandalouſly falſe of ſuch as were truly and in reallity Chriſtians, yet it was but too true of many that were accounted of the number, ſuch as the *Gnoſticks* were, and the lewd Followers of *Baſilides*, and

Valentinus, of whom it is enough to make a Mans Ears tingle, and his Hair ſtand an end, to read thoſe lewd Stories which *Ephiphanius* and *Ireneus* have reported; and it is certain, that the *Roman* Laws were not more ſevere againſt any thing, than againſt the practice of unlawful Luſt, inſomuch that by the old Laws and Uſages of the Empire, all the degrees prohibited in Marriage, which, by the *Moſaick* and the *Roman* Law, ſeem to me to have been exactly the ſame, were puniſhed with Death; and this was the Sanction of a *Novel* of *Juſtinian*, ſtill extant, and directed to the Inhabitants of *Oſdroena* and *Meſopotamia*, a nd of another of *Diæletian* and *Maximinian*, in the Fragments of *Pythæus*; and it appears by a Law of *Arcadius*, and *Honorius*, in the *Theodoſian Code*, whereby the Marriage of *Couſin Germans*, is diſpenſed with, that the puniſhment for the ſaid Marriages, in the time of *Theodoſius*, was no leſs than *ignium & proſcriptionis*, both the Parties were to be burnt alive, and their Eſtates to be Confiſcate; ſo that upon ſuppoſition that they did really believe ſuch horrid Impieties to have been practiſed amongſt them, as they were among ſome that went under the notion of *Chriſtians*, it is no wonder that the *Roman* Laws were ſo ſevere againſt them.

Antben. Col. b. 9. tit. 35. l. 154. Moſaic, & Rom. Leg. 1. Collat. tit de inceſtis Nupt. p. 90. C. Theod. l. 3. tit. 12. l. 14.

Another thing, which though it cannot juſtifie the Perſecution of the Chriſtians, yet it may render it ſomewhat leſs Barbarous and Unjuſt, than otherwiſe it would appear to be, is, That their over-forward, and over-heated Zeal was ſuch, that they were not content according to their Duty, barely to ſtick to the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, without affronting and reviling the *Pagan* Superſtition and Idolatry, upon all occaſions; and though I know not what others may think, yet I am of this Opinion till I am better informed, that if I ſhould take a Voyage to *Conſtantinople*, to pick a quarrel with the

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Grand Seignior, and revile *Mahomet* for an *Impostor*; or to *Rome*, to take his *Holiness* by the Beard, and call him *Antichrist*, and *Scarlet* Whore, and if for my pains I should be condemned by the one to the Gallies, or by the other to the Inquisition, it would be very idle in this case for me to complain of Persecution, or to comfort my self with suffering for Righteousness sake; for God that hath given us express leave, if we be Persecuted in one City, to flee to another, gives us no warrant to expose our Persons to unnecessary Dangers; and besides, the Religion of a Nation, though it be false, is a Sacred thing, and ought not to be affronted and rudely set at nought, nor to be opposed by any thing, but by Argument and Reason.

To all which it is to be added, That the *Roman* Emperours, though they were indeed, especially some of them, very Cruel and Inhumane towards their Christian Subjects, yet all the Cruelties and Indignities which they suffered, are not to be imputed to the Emperours and the Laws, but to the Rage and Fury of Idolatrous Bigots, and of an incensed Rabble: As for Example, It is Death by the Laws of this Nation, for a Popish Priest to be seen upon *English* ground, and it would be very well if it were so for a Non-conforming one too; but yet, if a man in the Streets being taken or suspected for a *Romish* Priest, shall without the formality of a Legal Process be torn in pieces by the Rabble, this is not to be imputed to the King and the Laws, when they could not have prevented it, though they would never so fain.

To summ up all that I have to say upon this point; As for the last Persecution under *Julian the Apostate*, if it may be called a Persecution, for it was but very gentle in comparison of the others; to speak a plain Truth, the Christians of those times, who were very turbulent,

though not altogether ſo bad as our True Proteſtants are now a days, may thank themſelves for putting the Emperour upon an apparent neceſſity, if he would ſit ſafe upon the Throne, to oppreſs them; for the encouragement and countenance given to Chriſtianity by the two laſt Emperours, *Conſtantine*, and his Son *Conſtantius*, had very miſchievous Effects upon the World, inſtead of doing a Service to it, which it is the Deſign of the Chriſtian Religion to do; but by the Paſſions and interfering Intereſts and Deſigns of men, it ſo happened, that the Factions between the *Orthodox*, and the *Arians*, and *Donatiſts* grew ſo high, that they ſhook the Empire, and threatned to tear the World in pieces; and *Julian*, who had before eſpouſed the Intereſt of Chriſtianity, and it is probable would not have relinquiſht it for no reaſon, ſaw no humane means ſo likely to ſettle and eſtabliſh Peace in the Empire, as by diſcountenancing all the ſeveral Factions, and indeavouring to reduce again the *Catholick* Unity of the *Pagan* Superſtition; and this, if I am not miſtaken, is the great myſtery of the *Romiſh* Religion at this day, it was deſigned and calculated to compound the buſineſs betwixt the Chriſtians and the *Pagans*, to make all quiet, and to bring them both under the Popes Juriſdiction. For it is manifeſt that in that Religion there are many Rites and Practices that are of the growth of *Paganiſm*, and notwithſtanding the footing which Chriſtianity had gotten in the World, the *Pagan* Faction was powerful in the Empire, as low as *Juſtinian*'s and in the *Capitulars* of *Charlemaine*, which are a great deal later, there are Laws againſt *Paganiſm*, and againſt the eating of things ſacrificed to Idols, ſtill to be met with; which Laws would not only have been needleſs, but ridiculous alſo, upon ſuppoſition that *Paganiſm* had been no where to be found in his Dominions.

Lindenbrog. Cod. l. l. Antiq. p. 938.

But

But let that be as it will, I am very confident that the account of *Julian*'s Perſecution, is wholly to be aſcribed to the Cauſe I have mentioned; and to the ſhame, not of Chriſtianity, but of ſuch as called themſelves Chriſtians, be it ſpoken, that as their Diviſions ſhook the Empire in the time of *Conſtantine*, *Conſtantius*, and *Julian*, ſo afterwards they broke it utterly in pieces, they brought in the *Goths*, and other barbarous Nations into *Italy* and *Spain*, the *Turks* and *Saracens* into *Greece*; and we are as much obliged to the True Proteſtants of old for the Siege firſt of *Conſtantinople*, and at this preſent time of *Vienna*, as we are to thoſe that are now, for their good Wiſhes, and pious Ejaculations, that the ſtrongeſt Bulwark of *Chriſtendom* may be taken.

And ſo I have done with the Firſt Point, the matter of Fact, as to the Perſecution of the Primitive Chriſtians: I ſhall not have time to finiſh all the particulars which I propoſed to my ſelf to diſcourſe upon, and therefore I ſhall only beg upon this ſolemn occaſion, that you would give me ſo much of your Patience, that I may finiſh this point of Non-reſiſtance, that ſo you may ſee the more plainly, what your Duty is, and by the practice of it expreſs your thankfulneſs to God for your Deliverance.

The Second thing to be conſidered is, how the Chriſtians behaved themſelves under the Perſecutions which they ſuffered. And to this I ſhall only anſwer in ſhort, That they ſubmitted to the greateſt ſeverities that could be uſed againſt them, that they ſubmitted to them all with an unſhaken Conſtancy, and a miraculous Patience; that they were ſo far from reſiſting the Emperours, that they prayed for them, for the Health and Welfare of their Perſons, for the ſucceſs of their Affairs, for peace within their Walls, and plenteouſneſs within their Palaces, and for the victorious Iſſue of all their Warlike Enterprizes, and Atchievements;

ments; they drew their Swords for their Defence and Honour, and ſerved in their Armies, and were ſo numerous in them, that they had the Empire in a manner at their diſpoſal, and yet never offered to lift up an hand againſt them, after all the Provocations, Cruelties, and Indignities that had been put upon them; but becauſe the *late Writer* of *Julian the Apoſtate* makes it a different Caſe in *Julian*'s time, from what it was before, and that the Chriſtians might then have lawfully ſtood up in the defence of themſelves, though they could not do it before; and becauſe he indeavours to bring the parallel home to our own Doors, therefore you ſhall give me leave, as becomes a good Subject, and a Faithful Member of the Church of *England*, and as the Solemnity of this occaſion requires, to lay the impudence and unskilfulneſs of that profligate Wretch, and mercenary Scribler, very briefly, and yet very plainly before you.

The difference of the Caſe which he makes to have been betwixt the Chriſtians in *Julian*'s time, and thoſe that lived before him, is this, That in *Julian*'s time, his two immediate Predeceſſors, *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius*, had eſtabliſhed Chriſtianity in the Empire, and conſequently the Laws of the Empire were on the Chriſtians ſide, ſo that they could not be perſecuted but againſt Law, and by conſequence might lawfully defend themſelves.

This is the ſtreſs of his Argument fairly repreſented; and in my Anſwer to it, I ſhall conſider:

Firſt, Whether the thing it ſelf, which he lays down, and takes for granted, is true, that the Laws of the Empire in *Julian*'s time were on the Chriſtians ſide.

And, Secondly, I ſhall, as he does, bring the matter home, and conſider the Caſe of altering the Succeſſion, and of Obedience to a Popiſh Succeſſor, if any ſuch, for the

for the ſins of this Nation, ſhould by Gods juſt Judgment be allowed to reign over us.

And firſt, I do abſolutely and poſitively deny that the Laws of the Empire were or could be on the Chriſtians ſide, when *Julian* himſelf was againſt them; the reaſon is, becauſe the *Roman* Government was abſolute, and conſequently the Will of the preſent Emperour was the only Law they had: Therefore the *Roman* Emperours were ſometimes called in *Greek*, αὐτοκράτορες, and at other times, ἀυθέντται, both of which terms do ſignifie *an abſolute Lord*; and there is an Appendix to the *Code* and *Pandects* of *Juſtinian*, which is for that reaſon entituled *the Authentiques*, that is to ſay, the Laws or Edicts of an Arbitrary and Uncontroulable Prince.

The Body of the Civil-Law, which was publiſhed by *Juſtinian*, conſiſts wholly either of the Opinions of ſuch as were accounted the beſt *Roman* Lawyers, which had their Force and Obligation from the *Imperial Sanction*, or of the Reſcripts or Letters of the *Roman* Emperours to the Governours of Provinces and of Cities, and to the Pretors or Judges of the Law, and a deciſion of any Caſe under the Emperours hand, was every whit as good and indiſputable Law, as an Act of Parliament is amongſt us; nay, the Senate were ſo far from having any ſhare in the Government with him, that they are expoſed by the *Roman* Satyriſt for their Servility and Slavery to the *Cæſars*; and I remember particularly in the *Theodoſian Code*, there are ſeveral Laws directed to the Senate, and the time when they were read publickly amongſt them, in order to their being obeyed, was entered down in the Regiſters or Memoires of the Houſe, which were as exact as the Journals of our Parliaments are now a-days. And one of the firſt things in the Volume of *Juſtinian*, is to aſſert and vindicate the Imperial Authority, both in the making of

C. Th. lib. 6. tit. 9. l. 14. & ib tit. 4. l. 11. &c. vetiam novel. Theod. tit. 1. & 2. & C. Theodoſ. l. 1. tit. 4. l. de reſponſis prudentum, & l. 2. tit. 1. l. 12. & l. 4. tit. 11. l. 2.

of Laws, and in the interpretation of them if any doubt should arise, which he decrees by virtue of his Arbitrary and Supream Authority to be wholly locked up in the Breast of the Emperour.

v. Præfat. Cod. de novo Iodice faciendo.

Lastly, It is plain that there were three several Reviewals of the *Roman* Law, by the command of the Emperours, and the Volumes that were published received their Authority wholly and intirely from the Imperial Sanction or Decree; the first of these Reviewals was in the time of *Adrian* the Successor of *Trajan*, the second in that of *Theodosius the younger*, and the third in that of *Justinian*.

v. Jac. Gothofred prolegom in C. Th.

And now let any man judge what truth there is in the bold Affirmation of this unskilful Dabler in the Civil Law, that the Laws of the Empire were on the Christians side, at the same time when the Emperour himself was against them, and when the Will of the Emperour was the only Law of the Empire; it would be easie to prove, and it hath been done to excellent purpose already, not only that he is no more a good Civilian, than he is a good Subject, or an honest Man, but that he hath studied *Magna Charta*, and *Bracton*, and *Fleta*, and *Cooke* upon *Littleton*, and the *Judges Reports*, and *Ruled Cases*, to as little purpose as he hath done his Bible.

v. Dr. Hicks in his Jovian.

If *Julian* were a Persecutor of Christianty, so were his Officers, and the Governours of the Provinces likewise, which they could neither do nor justifie without Authority from him, which Authority was conveyed without Question in the usual manner by the Imperial Rescripts, or Letters, and if there are none of them extant at this day, this is no Argument that there never were any such Laws, but only that afterwards they were repealed, and therefore in those Collections of the Civil Law, which were published afterwards by *Theodosius* and *Justinian*, they

they were omitted as uſeleſs, or rather they could not be inſerted without remaining ſtill to the prejudice of Chriſtianity in their former Force and Obligation.

And after all, the behaviour of the Chriſtians towards *Julian*, though it were, as it ſeems, more mutinous and diſorderly than in former times, yet nothing appears that ever they did actually Conſpire againſt him, much leſs that they ſpoke the Epilogue to *Julian the Apoſtate*, as our *True Proteſtants* were about to do; for whether the Author deſigned it or no, the Book was exactly fitted to prepare the minds of the People for the Rebellion that was to follow, and they that ſet him on work, did certainly intend it for that purpoſe.

And what is it, I beſeech you, that he produces to juſtifie the matter of Fact, that the Chriſtians were leſs Obedient to *Julian* than to former Emperours; why he produces ſeveral Witneſſes for it, and very fine Witneſſes indeed they are; there was a paſſionate Old Gentleman *Gregory Nazianzen*'s Father, there were three or four angry Women that ſat talking together at their Needle-work in a Window, there were the *Antiochians*, who were got into the way of *Paſquils* and *Lampoons*, and were very much degenerated from their Predeceſſors, among whom the Scripture tells us the Believers were firſt called *Chriſtians*; and there was *Gregory Nazianzen* himſelf, who brings up the rear with a bundle of *Greek* Declamations made after *Julian* was out of hearing, wherein he had a mind at once to ſhew the greatneſs of his Wit, and the ſmallneſs of his Diſcretion together; and all that theſe People did, was only that they murmured and repined, and gave the Emperour ill Language and ill Wiſhes, but they went no further, only the *Old Man* was once about, as it ſhould ſeem, to *kick* his Royal Maſter, which of an *Old Man* was courageouſly meant, and ſome

body had ſo little wit to tell Poſterity the Story, by which he did at once expoſe the Biſhop, and magnifie the Vertue and the Patience of the Emperour, who could put up ſuch Indignities in the mideſt of his Idolatry with a Chriſtian temper, and without that juſt revenge which they deſerved.

But does it appear that ever the Chriſtians of that Age reſiſted him, or took up Arms againſt him, or that the generality of them, when we have ſet aſide, a few paſſionate and Seditious Fellows, did talk ſo lewdly and ſo ſcandalouſly concerning him? No; but on the contrary it appears, that in his laſt Expedition the generality of his Army were Chriſtians; and it cannot be ſuppoſed otherwiſe, if the Chriſtians were ſo numerous in *Tertullians* time, but that after the Encouragement given to Chriſtianity by two ſeveral Emperours ſucceeding one another, they were ſtill more powerful and formidable than before, and yet we know of no Sword that was ever drawn in the Quarrel, or ſo much as intended to be drawn.

And ſo much concerning the nature of the *Roman* Government, and the behaviour of the Chriſtians under it in the time of *Julian*; let us now briefly apply this to the Bill of Excluſion, and the Point of a Popiſh Succeſſour to the Imperial Crown of theſe Kingdoms.

As for the Bill of Excluſion I ſhall not reflect upon the Perſons that were chiefly concerned in it; this Deſperate Conſpiracy hath I hope opened the Eyes of ſome of thoſe Gentlemen that were Zealous for it; and there are others partly at the call of Nature, and partly by the ſtroke of Juſtice, that are gone to their own place; and I ſhall not inſult over any mans Calamity, or go about to diſturb the Aſhes of the Dead, but let all the Kings Enemies be as they are, unleſs they will Repent,

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and become Friends to themſelves as well as to their Prince, and upon that condition, let them all be forgiven and forgotten.

But as for the Bill which they preferred in Parliament, though I do not meddle with the Statute of *Queen Elizabeth* ſo much talked of about the Succeſſion, I do conceive that it was naturally unlawful for the King to paſs it, and that for theſe two Reaſons,

Firſt, becauſe a Succeſſive Monarchy is without all queſtion the beſt Form of Government upon the Face of the Earth, it being eaſie to ſhew, if the time would allow it, and if it would not be too long a digreſſion, that this ſort of Polity is the leaſt expoſed to Factions, and by conſequence is the beſt fitted to procure the Peace and Happineſs of the World; and the King who is accountable to God for the good of his People, hath no natural right to alter, or to conſent to the alteration of the Eſtabliſhment from a better Form of Government to a worſe, and yet this in all probability would have been the Conſequence if that Bill had paſſed.

For if an Heir may be Excluded upon one Pretence, he may alſo upon another, and they that are Enemies to Monarchy will never want Pretences till all the Line be Excluded, and the Monarchy it ſelf utterly ſubverted.

But then, Secondly, ſuppoſing a ſucceſſive Monarchy to be but of equal advantage to the World with any other Form of Government whatſoever, or let us ſuppoſe it to be a little worſe, which is as much as our Adverſaries in reaſon can deſire; yet the preſent Eſtabliſhment, meerly for that reaſon, becauſe it is the preſent, is the beſt, becauſe of the Dangers and Animoſities, the Strife and War, and Bloodſhed, to which all Alterations in Government are expoſed; and therefore it was excel-

lently well adviſed of *Solomon* in the 24th of the *Proverbs* at the 21ſt Verſe; *My Son fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change:* For which he gives this admirable Reaſon in the very next Verſe, *For their Calamity ſhall riſe ſuddenly, and who knoweth the Ruine of them both.* And this ought in all Ages hereafter to be remembered to the Kings Honour, that the Dangerous and threatning importunity of a reſtleſs Faction was never able to move the Scale of Juſtice out of its Royal Ballance, or prevail with him to conſent to any thing, though in never ſo great Straits and Exigences of his Affairs, which was like to be of ſo Dangerous Conſequence to the Good of the People, as well as to the Rights of the Crown and the Royal Prerogatives which himſelf and the Kings and Queens of *England* his Anceſtors have enjoyed.

May he ſtill continue to defend himſelf and us againſt the wicked Encroachments and Deſigns of Men much more Arbitrary than the Government they complain of, and as often as they Conſpire againſt his Intereſt, his Honour, or his Life, ſo often let them be detected and exemplarily puniſh'd, and *let the King rejoyce in thy ſtrength, O Lord, exceeding glad let him be of thy Salvation.*

For the buſineſs of Obedience to a Popiſh Suceſſour, if God in his anger ſhould ſend us ſuch an one, I ſhall now immediately have occaſion to conſider it under the third and laſt head, in which I will be very brief, and in which I have promiſed to ſhew the Reaſons upon which the paſſive behaviour of the Primitive Chriſtians was founded, which I have in part conſidered already, and ſhew'd you that the Reaſon why Obedience, even to a Perſecuting Prince, is of neceſſity required at our hands, is, Becauſe it is better for the Peace of the World, and for the Happineſs of Humane Life, that the Prince ſhould

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be Arbitrary, than that the Subjects ſhould be Judges in their own Cauſe, which they are of neceſſity ſuppoſed to be in all the caſes of Reſiſtance that can be ſuppoſed.

I ſhall now only ſtrengthen what I have ſaid already, by ſome other Arguments which are more properly of Theological conſideration.

And firſt, There was the Command of our Saviour, who Commanded his Diſciples in thoſe times of Perſecution by no means to reſiſt their Enemies and Oppoſers in his Sermon on the Mount.

And ſecondly, This Doctrine of Obedience was over and over inculcated by the Apoſtles; St. *Paul* is ſtrangely expreſs to this purpoſe in the 13*th* to the *Romans*, *Let every Soul be ſubject to the Higher Powers, for there is no Power but of God; the Powers that be are ordained of God. Whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God, and they that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation; for Rulers are not a Terrour to Good works, but to the Evil; wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power, do that which is good and thou ſhalt have praiſe of the ſame, for he is the Miniſter of God to thee for good: But if thou do that which is evil be afraid, for he beareth not the Sword in vain, for he is the Miniſter of God, a revenger to execute Wrath upon him that doeth Evil. Wherefore you muſt needs be ſubject, not only for Wrath, but alſo for Conſcience ſake. Not only for Wrath*, that is, not only out of a Principle of fear, *but alſo for Conſcience ſake*; that is, out of a Principle of Duty; which Duty I have ſhewn to be founded in the Peace and Quiet of the World, and in the Intereſt and Happineſs of Humane Life; and therefore when he tells us that *he is the Miniſter of God to us for Good*, we muſt allow him in the Exerciſe of his Government, to judge for himſelf what that *Good* and *Evil* is, otherwiſe he will unavoidably *bear the Sword in*

vain,

vain, and we ſhall never be puniſht but when we pleaſe our ſelves. So alſo St. *Peter* argues in the words that have been already produced, *ſubmit your ſelves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lords ſake, whether it be to the King as Supream, or unto Governours as unto them that are ſent by him, for the puniſhment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well*; but now if we be allowed in all Caſes to determine for our ſelves when we do *well* or *ill*, ſo as they ſhall have no power to puniſh or reward, but with our own conſent, then it is we that are the Kings and the Governours, and not they.

Thirdly, The Doctrine of Non reſiſtance is ſtill further inferred and preſt upon us, by conſidering the Example of our Saviour and thoſe Miraculous Powers for the Diſcipline of the Church, which were given to the Apoſtles and firſt Preachers of the Goſpel.

As for our Saviour, though he could at any time have deſtroyed his Enemies by a word of his Mouth, or a motion of his Finger, or by the leaſt act or intention of his Will, and though he could have called down ſo many Legions of deſtroying Angels to his aſſiſtance, yet he choſe rather to be an Example of Meekneſs and Humility, of Patience and Obedience to the Powers he lived under, than of Reſiſtance againſt them.

And for the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors, it is well known that St. *Peter*, with the Sentence of Excommunication denounced againſt them, ſtruck *Ananias* and *Sapphira* dead; and St. *Paul*, threatned with the like or ſome ſuch uſage *Hymeneus* and *Alexander*, and the *inceſtuous Corinthian*, and others; and it is commonly ſuppoſed by Learned Men, that this Power remained in the Church, of inflicting Death and Diſeaſes after a Miraculous way, till the Empire took Chriſtianity into its Protection, and then the Secular Sword was ſufficient to back the Eccleſiaſtical

ſiaſtical Cenſures; but now they never had a Power of inflicting the like Plagues or Calamities upon any that were not of their own Body, which was as much as to ſay, that God expected that they ſhould practiſe the Doctrine of paſſive Obedience, or Non-reſiſtance, with reſpect to their Superiours, though they had a Power of Diſcipline among themſelves.

Fourthly and laſtly, God himſelf did ordain and conſtitute an Arbitrary Government, when he appointed firſt *Judges*, and then *Kings* of *Iſrael*, that were inveſted with it; as appears from this, that there is no where any mention made of any Senate, or any number of Men that had a Power of limiting and controuling them, from the ſtrange Enormities of the Sons of *Eli*, from whence notwithſtanding no Rebellion; followed, from *David*'s killing the *Amalekite* without any Legal Proceſs, as *Solomon* was about to ſerve the Child that he was going to divide, and from the Deaths of *Joab* and *Shimei*, who were both of them put to death with no other Proceſs or Formality than the Kings Command; and laſtly, from the Anſwer of *Rehoboham* to the Children of *Iſrael* before the Diviſion of the two Kingdoms.

The Fathers of Families, who were the firſt Kings, had an unaccountable Power of Life and Death over their Children and Slaves, all over the *Eaſt*, and alſo by the Old *Roman* Law; and I do not ſpeak this as if I had any fancy to be a Slave, but this was moſtly the Government in the *Eaſt*, and ſo it continues to be to this Day; and God by appointing it in ſome Caſes, hath ſhewn undeniably that it is more ſutable to the Will of God, and to the Happineſs of Men, that a Government ſhould be Arbitrary, than that every Man ſhould do that which is *right in his own Eyes*; as it was with the *Iſraelites* after the Death of *Samſon*, when the Scripture tells us there *was no King in Iſrael*, for

a *King* and a *Judge* were in Authority the same, only the one was Hereditary, and the other was not.

And now to apply all this to a *Popish Successor*, or one that is *reputed* a *Papist*, which the disturbers of our Peace pretend so much to fear; it is true, that the Laws of the Land are against Popery, but yet it is every whit as true, that the Laws of Nature, and the Practice of Christianity in all Ages, are against a Rebellion; and the Laws of the Land cannot warrant us to do that which the Laws of Nature forbid; it is true likewise, that we live in a tempered Monarchy, and that the People, though they have not the executive Power, nor any share in the Administration, yet they have a right of consenting to those Laws by which they ought in Justice to be governed; but if the King will exceed his bounds, a Civil War is as dangerous and destructive in one sort of Government as another, and consequently Resistance is in all Governments equally unlawful.

I shall conclude with begging your Pardon for the length of this Discourse, and with desiring you, since I have not time, to reflect within your selves upon the detestable blackness of the Crime of which the Kings Enemies and yours are Guilty, upon the Horrid Consequences that would have attended the success of it, and to adore that Providence that hath Delivered you from it, and pay your thanks to God by Obedience to the King, Obedience in your Thoughts, Obedience in your Actions, Obedience in your Principles, and always to be mindful of the advice of *Solomon*, *Curse not the King, no not in thy thought, for a Bird of the Air shall carry the Voice, and that which hath Wings shall tell the Matter.*

FINIS.